# The South African Outlook

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Education the Key

It is easy to say that science should be welded to the humanities but much less easy to suggest how this should be done. The key to the problem, I believe, lies in the schools. If we are to pay more than lip service to raising the general intellectual standards of the community, we must recognise the urgent need for good all-round practitioners in the art of education. A benevolent dictator would make school-teaching the most highly respected and most highly paid of all professions and the Minister of Education the most important of all officers of government.

Sir Jas Gray, F.R.S. President, British Association, 1959

#### Death of Dr. E. G. Jansen.

The Governor-General, we learned with deep regret, died on the evening of the 25th November. He had been in indifferent health for some time but continued to fulfil his official engagements until he contracted pneumonia. Many messages of condolence have been sent to Her Excellency and her son, Mr. Justice Jansen, from all over the world, including those from the Queen and the Heads of the Commonwealth and from Foreign States. Jansen when in active politics was twice Speaker of the House of Assembly and twice Minister of Native Affairs, and in both positions he gained a well-deserved reputation for fairness and tact. Although a staunch Nationalist no one would describe him as a contentious party-politician, and this may have been the reason why he occupied the Speaker's Chair for fifteen years, and why he was selected as Governor-General. His speeches to public gatherings often stressed the plea that the two main traditions in the white population should cultivate closer associations, and especially that each should be acquainted with the language of the other. One might say that he stood for the more

solid and sober virtues, and we believe that he has left an example of just, dignified and generous conduct in public life.

### The Church and Politics.

Last month and this we have published, with grateful acknowledgments to Optima, extracts from the long and able article of the Rev. Ben Marais on Apartheid as viewed by a section at least of the combined Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa. It is important that those who say they have been appalled by some of the consequences of this policy should have the opportunity of reading a fair and candid account of it from those who support it. All who know Dr. Marais will readily grant him the honesty of his convictions and respect the courage he has displayed in stating the position of what he must know to be only that of a considerable minority in his Church. His article will have removed any impression that at any rate the leaders of his Church base their support of the policy on holy scripture. It will also have destroyed the impression, widely current, that, as practised to-day in the D R. Churches, the policy has the weight of a long tradition behind it. In point of fact he clearly shows that as general practice it is barely a century old. We may admit that a case can be made out, on grounds of polity, language, or self-development, for separately organized churches, but no case at all for any Christian Church to regard those of a different colour as pariahs with whom all association is to be avoided. There are aggregations and separations that come nigh to being by course of nature, but if charity is taken as the guide and rigidity is not elevated into a principle, togetherness and segregation will sort themselves out.

Archbishop Joost de Blank, of Cape Town, combating the charge that in criticising Government policies, churchmen were interfering in a sphere in which the Church had no standing, said on the 12th of November in Johannesburg that any Government or political party that advocated policies which flouted universally-held Christian principles was stepping out of its proper province and putting itself in the place of God. Principles governing man's relationship with his fellow-man were laid down in God's self-revelation. The politician's vocation was to work out these principles in practice. But the moment he begins to question these principles, the moment he seeks to implement a policy which cannot be squared with these

principles, he assails the divine prerogative by acting as a law-giver instead of a law-maker. Though not deliberately, he is committing blasphemy.

There were certain universally held Christian principles which Christian men dare not question. One pertinent example was "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (with no mention of the colour of the neighbour's skin).

There had always been those who had attempted to confine the Church to private religion or to concern with the life to come. The Nazis in Germany had insisted that they had no quarrel with the Church and that discord had arisen only because the Church did not stick to its proper and sole duty to prepare the souls of its members for eternity. The idea that there is a small compartment of life which is the religious compartment and that the rest of life has nothing to do with religion is a dangerous heresy and has nothing in common with Christian orthodoxy. In practice an accusation of Church interference in politics was invariably made by a party whose policies came under the Church's judgment. Acquiescence in policies was every bit as much a political activity, for absence of criticism implies approval and silence means consent. The Church would far less frequently come into the arena of party politics if politicians stuck to their last, instead of constantly arrogating to themselves an authority and responsibility which cannot be theirs.

### Fort Hare Final Assembly.

We publish in this issue an account of the final Assembly of the University College of Fort Hare under its original Constitution. At the end of this year it becomes a Departmental Institution under Bantu Education. In addition to the members of staff summarily dismissed as noted in last month's issue, several additional resignations by senior officers have been intimated. The Head of the African Studies Department, Professor Z. K. Matthews. M.A. (Yale) whose connection with the College as student goes back to 1917, as lecturer to 1936, and as Professor to 1945, intimated at the closing Assembly that he could not see his way to continue under the conditions that would obtain under the new régime. Professor L. C. S. Nyembezi, M.A. (Rand); Mr. A. M. Phahle, M.Sc. (C.T.); Dr. G. D. S. Maimkulu, M.A. (Yale) PH.D. (Natal), all former students of the College, have also intimated their relignations, as has Professor Michael Webb, D.Sc. (Stell). Head of the Department of Zoology.

On the subject of the dismissals noted last month, the Council of the University of Cape Town has issued the following statement: "The University of Cape Town is greatly concerned at the refusal of the Minister of Bantu Education to continue the employment of seven members of the existing staff of the University College of Fort Hare after its transfer to the Department of Bantu Education in

January, 1960. These staff members were appointed to their posts on merit and no reason has been given to them for their abrupt dismissal. The Minister, however, is reported to have stated publicly—to a political gathering at Glencoe—that he 'disposed of the services' of these people because they were 'destroying the Government's policy of apartheid,' and to have added that he 'will not hesitate to sack any member of the staff, White or non-White, who does anything to destroy the apartheid policy.'

In the absence of any specific allegation of subversive action against any of these officers, it would appear that members of the staff of a university college have been deprived of their posts because of the political opinions they conscientiously hold. A precedent is thus created for the dismissal of South African university teachers for their political opinions.

In protesting against this action, the University of Cape Town is not meddling in the affairs which are not its All South African universities are threatened. Academic freedom for all begins to melt away as soon as it is denied even to a few. Once the principle of dismissal on political grounds is accepted there is no logical limit to its application. If it be accepted to-day that seven may be dismissed from Fort Hare for their opinions, the time may come when legislation will be introduced to empower the Government of the day to dismiss others from the Universities of Stellenbosch or Cape Town, Potchefstroom, or Natal for their political opinions. If university teachers are to be subjected to coercion of this sort, the institutions which they serve will cease to be true universities, for freedom of thought and freedom of teaching are essential for a university to perform its proper task.

Moreover, if apartheid is a justifiable policy, it will stand up to rational criticism; but to prohibit rational criticism of apartheid in our universities would be to condemn it in the eyes of every fair-minded person in South Africa and oversea."

### Principal H. R. Burrows, M.Com., M.C., E.D.

Before the Council of the University College of Fort Hare thought of inviting Prof. Harry Raymond Burrows to accept the Principalship of the College two years ago, he had already, in addition to his war service, spent sixteen years as a lecturer in Bristol University and a further twenty years as Professor of Economics at Natal University. In 1945, moreover, in addition to his duties as Professor, he was appointed Director of the Natal Regional Survey and has continued to edit the Survey Publications, eighteen or nineteen of which have already appeared under the imprint of the Oxford University Press. These studies deal with the social, educational, health and economic undertakings of the population elements in Natal, and include studies of African and Indian groups, and of the

natural resources of that Province and the distribution of its population in relation to agriculture, labour, housing, etc. In the direction of this survey Professor Burrows was able to rely upon his previous research and publications in England. He was therefore specially well fitted to take charge of Fort Hare at what promised to be a critical moment in its history, a promise that has been amply fulfilled, as all the world now knows!

Having already reached the normal age of university retirement, Prof. Burrows agreed to stay for a period of two years, but would have been prepared to continue longer, if he had been retained, to tide the College over what is bound to be a very awkward period of transfer to the new order decreed by the government. Had this happened many inevitable difficulties might have been minimized for those succeeding.

In the brief space of the two years allowed him, the Principal has accomplished a great deal. Most important of all he has proved to be *persona grata* with both students and staff. Much energy has been expended on the grounds; additional lecture space and hostel accommodation have been provided, enabling the College to accept a record number of students. Numerous returns have been prepared, illustrated by diagrams, to make plain the stages of its growth and its present composition, with a view to persuading the powers that be to maintain the *status quo* and advance the College further on the way to full status.

That these efforts proved unavailing against the overall policy of the government, detracts no whit from the fine achievement of Principal Burrows and his staff in these last two years. The Bantu Education Department enters upon a rich heritage indeed, going back to 1915 when the Bantu, their Missionaries and Territorial Administrators, and the Union Cabinet, formed what was thought to be an enduring alliance to provide higher education for the underprivileged in Southern Africa. That this association has now been broken is only one of the pities in the total situation.

#### The Fort Hare Wardens.

At the end of this month the three Wardens of Men's Hostels at Fort Hare who have held their offices by nomiration of the Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, lay down their tasks, not because the Churches believe they have failed in their duty, but solely at the dictates of a Government which does not brook any other influence in Native Affairs than its own. During the forty-three years in the life of the College, four Anglicans, six Methodists and four Presbyterians have been on the staff. These were all men who had exercised, or were destined during their term to exercise, high office in their respective

denominations. Two of those now being retired, the Rev. E. Lynn Cragg and Archdeacon Rolfe, have given each about a dozen years to the College, while the third, the Rev. J. Summers, who has given three years, had experience of religious and educational work as a Missionary of the Church of Scotland in West Africa. These men have been left in no doubt of the respect and affection with which they have been regarded by the students under their care. Two of them, Messrs. Cragg and Summers, have also been theological tutors to students for the ministry, and have given assistance in the College department of Divinity. The joint theological teaching hitherto carried on in the hostels will in 1960 be conducted at the Lovedale Bible School, where Mr. Summers will be joined by the Rev. J. A. T. Cook, the son of a late former Warden and Tutor at Fort Hare. Mr. and Mrs. Cragg will take wellearned leave before taking up other work in the church, and Archdeacon and Dr. Rolfe expect in the meantime to reside in Alice. To these Wardens and their wives, and to Mrs. and Mr. Summers who are continuing in the district, the thanks and good wishes of all who have known them will go.

In a different category because they have been joint Wardens of a *College* hostel, are Dr. and Mrs. Mtimkulu who have supervised the women's hostel. They also are leaving because Dr. Mtimkulu has been appointed liaison officer for Africa with the World Council of Churches. His headquarters will be in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia. An old student of Fort Hare where he took his M.A. in English, Dr. Mtimkulu also studied at Yale. In recognition of his services as Head of Adams High School, and subsequently as Principal of Ohlange Institution, the University of Natal conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He is one of the four Senior African Staff who have declined to continue at Fort Hare under the new régime.

### Ecumenical Conference: Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social change.

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg 7th to 10th December 1959.

This conference is being convened by the Continuation Committee of South African Churches at the request of the Study Group of South African Churches which, under the auspices of the World Council of Churches, undertook and completed a study of this subject last year. The study is being undertaken in 27 African, Asian and South American countries.

Papers will be read by Dr. Nicol, Rev. D. Kitagawa, Dr. Eugene Blake, Dr. S. Biesheuvel, Professor Monica Wilson, Prof. H. D. A. du Toit, Rev. G. Setiloane, Mr. A. H. Broeksma and Dr. R. E. van der Ross.

# Fort Hare Final Assembly

The Final Assembly of the University College of Fort Hare under the present auspices was held in the Assembly Hall on Wednesday 28th October 1959 and was largely attended. The procession was formed in the quadrangle and moved to the hall led by the Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University and Chairman of Council, the Principal, Professor H. R. Burrows, Chairman of Senate, Deans of the Faculties of Rhodes University, Members of Council and Senate and Lecturers' Association, President of the Students' Representative Council and Students. The Assembly was opened by the reading of Scripture and prayer by the Rev. E. Lynn Cragg and addresses were given by Dr. T. Alty, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University, Dr. Alexander Kerr, (Principal 1916-1948), Principal Burrows, Miss G. M. Darroll, Prof. Z. K. Matthews, first graduate, and Mr. J. M. Majola, President of the S.R.C. The session was brought to a close by the singing of the National Anthems and the Benediction pronounced by the Venerable Archdeacon Rolfe.

### Dr. T. Alty, said:

We meet this morning at this ceremony to mark the end of a chapter in the history of Fort Hare. After 44 years of development and service to the African peoples, the College faces a great crisis in its affairs leading to a future which is at this time by no means clear. What is clear is that the known and tried ways of the past are to be disrupted, that the day of the Governing Council, representing the many varied interests supporting the College,—and elected by them—is over, and that the association with Rhodes University is at an end. I therefore speak to you this morning in two capacities as Vice-chancellor of your University and as Chairman of your Governing Council and in both capacities I speak with sadness.

As Vice-Chancellor I view with sorrow and regret the forcible separation of the College from the University. This regret becomes all the more pronounced when I review the long connection between the two institutions. Long before the days of affiliation, leading scholars from Rhodes had served Fort Hare as representatives of the University of South Africa on your Council. In this connection I mention the names of Professors Dingemans, Kidd, Ewing, Dr. Smeath Thomas and Professor Varder. who, between them, served on the Council throughout its life from about 1920 and devoted much time to the advancement of the College's interests. When Rhodes became a separate University in 1951 this College became an affiliated College of the University and in consequence the relationship between us became much closer than before. Since that time, graduates of this College have been Rhodes graduates, holding Rhodes degrees and enjoying

full membership of the Convocation of the University. During the eight years of affiliation I think we shall all agree that the College has made great progress. Numbers have increased, for the first time the College has been subsidised on the same basis as the other universities and, in consequence of the increased Government grant, many long planned developments could be carried out. The result is the College as you see it today, an institution of which we can all be proud.

And now the College faces a great change on being taken over by the Ministry of Bantu Education. Many of us have had serious doubts as to the possibility of forwarding university education successfully in the conditions of rigidity and isolation which seem to threaten, and all of us associated with the College have striven to make clear the difficulties inherent in such a scheme. We have however not been successful in these efforts and the changes we have tried to prevent are now upon us. We must hope that the weaknesses and difficulties, which we have dedetected in the organisation of the new College, may in practice prove to be less harmful than many friends of Fort Hare have feared. I cannot find words to say very much on this score today, but I speak to you with sympathy for the difficulties involved in adjustment to the new régime and with personal good wishes to each and all of you.

This is probably the last occasion on which the Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University will address the staff and students of Fort Hare as members of an affiliated College. All of you students here this morning will be entitled, if you so wish, to take the examinations of Rhodes University. Your successors will not have that option but as we approach the parting of the ways, I wish to give both to you and to your successors and to your Co'lege, the heartiest good wishes and encouragement of the University.

I now wish to say some words of thanks in my capacity as Chairman of the Governing Council. First to my fellow members on the Council for their support and their great interest in all the activities of the College. Secondly I would like to thank all the members of the staff for their unstinted efforts to advance the quality and status of the College. The Council, and the College, has always been well served by a competent and loyal staff and it is a matter of the greatest regret to us all that that staff should be facing such unforseen difficulty as a result of the transfer of the College. I thank each individual member of staff for his past help and, whether he is to remain with the College or not, I wish him in the future every happiness and success.

Finally I come to the three men who have been most intimately concerned with the growth, development and management of the College. Dr. Kerr who came here as

a young man and devoted his whole life to the College, Professor Dent who served with him for so many years and succeeded him as Principal, and Professor Burrows who took charge when the shadow of change was already lying over the College and whose untiring efforts on its behalf have inspired us all. I know that the Governing Council would wish me to offer its special and grateful thanks to all three of them.

In conclusion I wish to express the hope that, despite present anxieties and uncertainties, Fort Hare may continue to merit, and to receive, the loyal support of its sons, and will continue to be the outstanding centre for the higher education of the African people.

### Dr. A. Kerr said:

The history of this College, so tar, resolves itself into four phases. The first phase covers the period from 1905 till 1915, from the time, that is, of the first Convention of delegates held at Lovedale in December 1905, through the protracted and sometimes tedious years of preparation, propaganda and finally persuasion, when, in January 1915, the Union Government of General Botha decided to support here a College for the higher education of Natives, and instructed the Department of Union Education to place a modest sum upon its estimates as subsidy. The second phase may be taken as lasting from 1916, when the College was formally opened by General Botha as Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs, till 1937, when the development of Native Secondary Schools throughout the Union had proceeded to such an extent, and the enrolment of post-matriculation students at the College had so increased, that the Council decided to discontinue secondary teaching and concentrate upon degree courses of the University of South Africa, and certain other diploma courses of its own. The third phase lasted from 1937 till 1951, at which latter date the remaining constituent colleges of the University of South Africa attained full university status, the University itself became an examining body for external students, and by Act of Parliament, Fort Hare, for purposes of degree examinations, became affiliated to Rhodes University. The fourth phase has covered the years from 1951 till this year of grace, 1959, after which the Fort Hare Transfer Act comes into force, and the entire control of the College passes to the recently created Ministry of Bantu Education.

Nothing is to be gained by overlooking the fact that, while the previous steps in the development of the College were taken in the natural course of its history, and on its own initiative, the step that is now projected has been taken, not upon any educational principle, or upon any alleged professional deficiency, but solely in consonance with an over-riding political theory. It is but simple truth to say that none of the functional entities of the College,—Council, Senate, Student Body, or the Univer-

sity to which the College is affiliated, -has been consulted on, or has consented to, the transfer of allegiance or connections thus compulsorily imposed upon it. On the contrary, the opposition of all these bodies is on record, marking a struggle waged, not through faction, but through well-grounded conviction that the operation is not in the interests of those who have been, who now are, or who are likely to be, its alumni. In any account of this striving of many to maintain what they firmly believe to be true and universally recognised principles, the chief credit must go to Principal Burrows, who not only by his courage, resourcefulness and experience of university organization, marshalled the defence, but by his sympathetic understanding and sense of history has so completely grasped the ideals and principles underlying the foundation of this particular College. He has accomplished this and much more in the short space of two years, and at the normal conclusion of a term of service when he had the right to expect relief from day-labour. He may be assured that he has earned the gratitude and respect of all within these walls and of a host of those outside.

Briefly, what is it in this change that we object to? In regard to our relations to Government, we regret that, in so far as Government exercises administrative direction over Higher Education through the Union Department of Education, Arts and Science, this College, and others like it, are now to be withdrawn from its care. By this Act we are disjoined from association with other teaching universities, a disjunction which entails penalties, the full extent of which is not as yet visible, but that they are likely to be grievous is already only too obvious. These disabilities will affect conditions of service, admission of students, and equality of subsidy.

In regard to the change in the University connection, it is sufficient to say that the College is now to be disjoined from Rhodes which is within an hour-and-a-half's distance and within earshot, and is to be attached to another with headquarters in Pretoria, 600 miles away, when consultation will be both costly and time-consuming. Nor is it only a recent connection with Rhodes which is thus being severed, but one which has existed for 40 years, the period that Rhodes has been continuously represented on the College Council. To Dr. Alty, the present vice-chancellor who has been chairman, and to his colleagues and their predecessors who have been members of Council, the University College of Fort Hare is deeply indebted and correspondingly grateful for their comradeship. We are sorry that a link forged so long ago has been so unnecessarily broken.

Of other new disabilities looming ahead, I mention only two. The first two students enrolled at this College were two Basotho, one from the Free State and the other from Basutoland. They were able to come because the administration of that country was one of the African territories which, together with the Transkei and the Glen Grey District, proposed from the first to contribute towards its foundation. Until recently the student body has always had a representation of the Basotho nation, and many excellent students have gone back there after their training. But lately, restrictions have been imposed upon students from beyond the Union borders and both the stream of students and the subsidy have ceased. The Basotho were followed by others from the African Territories, from Bechuanaland, Swaziland, both Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Kenya and Uganda,-men and women who are now serving in the administrations, schools, and hospitals of their own countries, who have lived and played with their fellows from all four provinces of the Union and South-West Africa, and who, if honourably regarded, might be the best ambassadors for South Africa. They also brought into the College glimpses of the outside world and of the various regions of this our continent, and by so doing compensated in some degree for the restrictions imposed by local social and political taboos. On the foundation of the home languages represented in such a student body, a beginning had been made in building up a department of comparative Bantu Language, which promised to be one of the best anywhere in Africa.

Oblivious of the fact that, when once a certain stage of education has been reached, distinctive local cultures can only draw strength and enrichment from wider contacts, the government proposes to restrict enrolment at this College to one Bantu-language group—the Xhosa—the only result of which, in any foreseeable future, will be the intellectual impoyerishment of the students and their segregation from the available sources of world-culture. This also entails the exclusion of the minority groups of Coloured and Indian students who have been participants in the College life from the beginning, and have enriched it in various ways, not least by their activities in the sporting and cultural student societies. So a College, which began by being hospitable to those people of all colours who could not obtain education, of the standard they desire, anywhere else on this continent at the time, can hardly be expected to enjoy the prospect of being compulsorily confined to one tribal group.

The other disability which I cannot avoid noting is that, for examination purposes, this College is to be subordinated to the University of South Africa. I do not wish to enlarge upon the effect of a change of allegiance away from a teaching university to one which only examines external students, a useful enough occupation in its way. Elsewhere I have shown that the former University of South Africa played a useful part in the development of Fort Hare, and, in association with it, this College had arrived, in spite of some anomalies, practically at the status of a

Constituent College, and was receiving appropriate treatment befitting such a status. But the present University of South Africa cannot escape the limitations of its legal organization. By virtue of its restriction to external students, presumably in the interests of the eight teaching universities, it can have no basis for examining any practical subject, so that the whole battery of experimental sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Psychology and Geography, all of which are well developed here, are outside its function, and indeed competence, to examine. This is also true of practical courses, such as those preparing students for the teaching profession as a career, which are largely attended. It applies also to many post-graduate courses such as might be studied by future lecturers at non-European colleges. The plain fact of the matter is, that the implications of the Government policy which are gradually being disclosed, have not been properly examined, nor have the legitimate aspirations and interests of the non-European people been decently regarded. In any event, the return to purely external examinations is twenty years behind the times, so far as Fort Hare is concerned.

I say nothing here about the disruption of the theological courses that has been caused by the taking over of the hostels. In course of time these might have demanded some re-organization, upon a pattern that has recently been successfully applied at Rhodes. But any such readjustment and expansion would have been at the initiative of the Churches themselves, and not at the dictation of a government department. Churches are kittle cattle to constrain, as governments have found out before now! But I do no more at this point than register my conviction, that the neglect of Biblical Studies, or their extrusion from the most advanced educational institutions, is against the trend of modern thought and current practice in these matters.

The question I now wish to ask is: What attitude should teachers and students adopt in view of the application of a particular government policy to this College? But before doing so, I must record my conviction that the dismissal of former staff members which has been carried out by the Minister, before the Council he has nominated to advise him on the working of the College has held any meeting, without making an inspection of the institution, or allowing the officers concerned an opportunity of meeting allegations made against them, is an act which must have shocked every university man in the country. It is moreover a strange method of commending a change of régime to withdraw any vestige of guarantee of security of tenure from staff members.

It is common knowledge that there are many unfilled vacancies in staff posts, and rumours are current of resignations pending, and indeed actual. What are conscientious officers to do in such circumstances? In matters of

conscience no one finally can give advice to another. Each man or woman must determine his action by his own inner light. But to any in any such dilemma, I would advance this consideration: it is a cardinal principle in university and indeed in all educational work, that the interest of the student must be paramount. We observe this principle in ordinary course, in making changes in regulations, or syllabuses, or examination procedures, but it extends far further than merely to those. It is axiomatic that education be provided for all people, and what is just as important, that it must be acceptable. But it cannot proceed if there are no teachers. I therefore believe, though I speak as one who is emeritus, but after much dispassionate reflection on the whole situation, that there is a duty on every staff member to ask himself first, whatever may be his private sentiments, whether there is not a call to stay at his post and to put no obstacle in the way of any qualified person who wishes to give service here. And I would remind some here that many of us who have worked here, and have given of the best we had, have done so under conditions that seemed to us hard. If I may draw an example from the past, I should say that the most difficult period in the history of the college, so far as internal organization was concerned, occurred when the staff were called upon to teach both pre-matriculation and post-matriculation classes. I honour especially the men and women of that time, because if they had not been willing to undertake such double duty, I question if the later history of this College would have been possible. So I should say to present members of staff: Stick to your students and your post, unless there is some principle which you regard as inviolable and which over-rides what appears to me to be plain duty.

To students present and future I would say: remember it is you who make or mar the College. It is the response you make to your teachers that determines what you can learn from them, and even if you disagree with their instruction, as you sometimes ought, you can still learn from them if you disagree as a rational being, and not as an irresponsible hooligan. And to both students and staff I would say: it is the relation between teacher and taught that is all-important. Councils and Senates and Students' Representative Councils loom large in the Calendar, and behind all is the Government Department, but the only essential thing in a College is that conversations between teacher and student should continue, even if sometimes the teacher is only another student.

And mention of the Government leads me to remind you of two things that in our disappointment might easily be forgotten: first, that no school for secular instruction can be established in South Africa for non-Europeans without being registered by Government; and secondly, that no modern university, especially if a new foundation, can

exist without substantial financial aid from governments. The aid required from Governments all over the world is seldom less than 50% of income. In South Africa it varies from 60% of the income, for the larger universities, to 80% for the smaller. In recent years the government subsidy of this College has been more nearly 80% than 60% of its income. In older countries this large share of the income does not entail any lessening of the inner freedom of the university, and special measures are adopted to secure that it does not. But one must be fair and recognise that when a College is dependent to such an extent upon the state, there is a constant temptation to a government to seek more than its proper share of influence in determining the ends that the university should serve. Should, however, it do so, it would lay itself open to the charge that it is impairing the usefulness of the very institution upon which it is spending so much of the people's money. As one who for long years in charge of this College had to live upon the crumbs that fell from the rich universities' table, I cannot help looking to the future with apprehension, lest the system of grants and related regulations which has done so much for universities since the adoption of the Holloway Report be no longer applicable to this College. There is a clear call for some statutory relation between the amounts available for European and non-European university education.

In conclusion it must be frankly admitted that in the struggle to maintain some semblance of the status quo we have been heavily defeated. But in my view one purpose stands out in stark relief. The College must be maintained in being. It is for the Bantu, and for all the Bantu, a National Monument. It enshrines principles which are dear to the hearts of all free men. Oblivious of the stratification of races and classes outside, it has, within the limitations of the purpose of its founders, received all qualified students of good character. It has, perhaps in advance of its time, observed the equality of the sexes. It has made no distinction in status or emoluments between white, black and brown on the same grade. It has endeavoured to treat every student as a Person entitled to all the social privileges appropriate to his station as a student. In doing so it has believed that it was being true to the Christian Ethic and to the spirit of the New Testament. It still believes that only on that foundation and with that spirit can justice and peace be the lot of this sub-continent. This makes a demand of faith upon everyone, and it is to illustrate the need for such a faith in the future, that I venture to leave with you a little parable, the source of which may surprise you.

One Saturday afternoon many years ago, in the Principal's House at Fort Hare, I received a call from a gentleman whom I did not know by sight. He turned out to be a friendly soul, and was keen to hear all he could about Fort

Hare, which he was only passing through. On such an afternoon the campus was deserted except for the Sports Field, and realising this, my visitor expressed a wish to see the men at play, and together we mingled with the crowd on the touch line. I am not now sure whether Commando had at that time been published, but I knew that Colonel Denys Reitz had been a cabinet minister in the government of General Smuts, and that he was still a member of Parliament. Everyone knows now the story of his voluntary exile at the end of the Anglo-Boer War, in which as boy and young man he had fought against the British and had experienced the bitterness of complete and seemingly irrevocable defeat. He has himself told how, against his inclination, he was induced to come back to his country, through the influence and care of General and Mrs. Smuts, and we know that he lived to hold high rank in the British Army and to command a Scottish regiment in the first world war. To me the remarkable thing is that one who was so completely flattened out by overwhelming power, within fifteen or sixeen years became a member of the Government of the Union, and was later to hold one of the most important posts in the cabinet—that of Minister of Native Affairs. And so, for me the moral is: in South Africa it is never prudent to abandon hope, or to accept defeat.

### Principal Burrows said:

The length of my address should perhaps be proportionate to the time I have been here, i.e. 1/16th that of Dr. Kerr's, i.e. about one minute. In spite of this, however, we must find time to pay a tribute to all those who laboured to found our college as well as those to whom its success is largely due, particularly Dr. Alexander Kerr and the late Professor Jabavu. Both of them were present at the Graduation Ceremony this year. So too was Mr. K. A. Hobart Houghton, father of Professor Hobart Houghton a member of our Council, who in the early years of this century toured Southern Africa seeking support for this college. We are very sorry that he is lying ill in hospital. May I propose that we send him a word of sympathy, best wishes for an early recovery and our very grateful thanks for all that he did towards making this college a reality.

The Churches who brought Christianity and education to the Bantu and who provided college hostels and wardens (thereby paying half the cost of housing our students) are rewarded by being turned out. Not only is this a grave personal loss but a step which will disrupt our theological courses. We at Fort Hare have valued the links with the Churches and the friendly care of the hostel wardens. The co-operating Churches have greatly enriched the life of the college and their influence is woven into the enduring traditions of our college guaranteeing religious as well as racial harmony.

Given time, it would be possible to list all the distinguished people who have given lectures or addresses in this college. This would include Prime Ministers, Ministers of Education, eminent scholars, university administrators and very many others. Incidentally, a selection from the lectures given by guests of the college during the last two years is at present being printed. We shall always be grateful for their kindly interest in our existence.

We must also pay a warm tribute to Rhodes University, both staff and students, for their friendly interest in our welfare, and particularly to the University Deans who have helped us to keep on the straight and narrow road of academic integrity and who have come to take part in our ceremony to-day.

Another pleasant duty is to convey the sincere appreciation of this College to our Council and particularly to its Chairman, Dr. Alty, for the untiring and loyal help given to beleagured Fort Hare. But, with one lonely exception, this Council, one of the most representative and distinguished bodies in the University world is being summarily liquidated.

It is also my duty to say a few words about our Senate which is the body responsible for promoting the academic prestige of our college. I should remind you that it has included all heads of departments together with the hostel Wardens, two members of Council and a representative of the Lecturers' Association. Here, different racial groups have always sat together in friendly discussion. As you know, there have been casualties during the last few days. Ten of the eleven members of staff who have either been dismissed or not re-appointed were members of this Senate They had been appointed after world-wide advertisement and keen competition, and Council continued to place every confidence in their competence and integrity. There may be other members of staff who may on principle decline to accept re-appointment. Moreover, as a result of the confiscation of the Church hostels, our well-loved wardens are also being ousted. Unfortunately, the Senate as we have known it will soon be replaced by a dubious, deflated and double-jointed shadow of the real thing.

In my opening address on March 4th, which incidentally got me into a certain amount of trouble, I said that none of us can avoid being influenced by political and racial cross-currents which from time to time drift into our college from the outside world. I suggested that one way of protecting our college from political prejudices was to preve that we were serious and hard-working students, and also that the more we kept our words and actions dignified the more influential would they be. Unfortunately, political storms have assailed us, and our College has become a political football.

Taking all this into account staff and students must be complimented on facing threats and tribulations with probably far more patience and dignity than would have been shown by any other University institution accorded the same treatment as has been imposed on Fort Hare.

Our Senate and Council did all that was possible to pilot our college through troubled political waters, and devoted much thought, energy and time to the defence of Fort Hare. Although Council, staff and students all failed, for the time being at any rate, permanent memorials of their endeavours are enshrined in a 400 page report of a Government Select Committee and, in many pages of Hansard, reports of discussions in the House of Assembly and in the Senate.

Being naturally modest, we sometimes do not always appreciate our good points. Only a few days ago a distinguished American visitor said in Natal that Fort Hare was one of the very few real University institutions he had seen. Also, a few days ago, a University Vice-Chancellor affirmed that Fort Hare has employed more African staff than any University in Africa and that in this way its achievements has been more out standing than that of the others. A few months ago in reply to a cruel and incorrect attack on the quality of our staff and students I obtained last year's degree examination results from all our South African Universities and was able to show that Fort Hare's percentage of passes was the second highest—a highly creditable result.

Our College has made a notable contribution to education on the African Continent if only because South Africa, the Protectorates and the Rhodesias had depended on Fort Hare for their Secondary School Teachers.

In many ways our college has hended on the torch of learning entrusted to its care by the missionary and educational pioneers of last century. And yet only too clearly have we reached the end of a chapter in the distinguished history of the College.

Perhaps by combining prayer and prophecy the next chapter may be only a short one. This is why it is all the more important that some should remain here to maintain the traditions and hopes of the college. Certainly, Fort Hare cannot afford to lose many more of its dwindling defenders. May we also trust that faith will sustain those who stay here, either to teach or to study, and will lessen the stresses and strains of imposed changes.

Fort Hare, long supported by Church, State and Communities from Cape Point to the Zambesi and at a cross roads of contrasting cultures and environments, has long been a vital frontier post in the attack on ignorance and prejudice. But it has needed reinforcements of official goodwill and political understanding which unfortunately, have not been forthcoming. It is clear that the attack on ignorance and prejudice must be carried out on a broader front than hitherto. Something must be done to repair the links and the partnerships which were so valuable a

feature of Fort Hare and which are being seriously threatened.

Finally, in saying Farewell may I thank staff and students for their great kindness to an aged and temporary visitor from Natal.

Miss Darroll, Senior Lecturer in English, speaking on behalf of the Lecturers' Association said: It has been suggested that I should talk about Staff relationships. There is nothing I would prefer to speak on, though I could never express all that the friendship here and the feeling of belonging has meant to me; I could not fully express it even though I continued for much longer than the ten minutes allotted me.

I had seen myself, before the present evil day threatened, retiring from the university of Fort Hare, and trying to make a speech of thanks at some farewell party to me, and talking there of the friendships, the united feeling of the staff. But the tragedy is that Fort Hare is retiring now, and I must speak at the farewell to Fort Hare as we know it. Fort Hare as we know it now has been unique, and one of its most remarkable aspects has been perhaps just this unity of the staff. Considered ethnically, we might have served as an anthropologist's happy hunting ground. Apart from four African "ethnic groups," Coloured, Indian (I don't think we have had Chinese on the staff) two white South African (or three, if we count French descent), there have been four from the British Isles, at least three from the European continent, two from America, and Jewish. What a diversity in one we have been-what a university! But we never considered ethnic groups that was a subject for anthropology or relegated to the museum where it belongs. Among us there has been neither white nor black nor pink nor brown nor yellow and even greyness might have received only a relatively increased respect. Neither bond nor free-not even male or female, for at the time when I attended Senate, as Warden of Elukhanyisweni, Dr. Kerr still invariably addressed us all as "Gentlemen."

But we regarded ourselves as the most normal and healthy community in the abnormality and neuroses of our country. It was not that on any side we were trying to overcome any sense of difference; it was simply that we were unaware of "ethnic groups" in human relationships.

Friendships formed here seemed to have a quality found in no other community. Mental and spiritual stimulation, inspiration, come naturally in this atmosphere. One receives so much one has to give of one's best. As I look back over the past fourteen years I know that, even with the shadow already on he last three, they have been the best of my life.

Fourteen years ago, when I came, some of the patriarchs had already retired. The late Professor Jabavu had gone,

but there was much left of his contribution to the community. The late Prof. Murdock had gone, but his sayings, replete with Irish wit, were current. But there were still giants in the land. And what a happy company we were; how closely united!

Fourteen years ago there was no Lecturers' Association. The total staff did not make a large number and almost all were either full or associate members of Senate. Besides me, there were, I think, only Mr. Mzamane and Mr. Phahle as lecturers who were not on the Senate. The small group was the more easily a cohesive company, but even as numbers increased, there has still been a feeling of openess.

Much of this happy relationship was due to those first two of the staff, Dr. Kerr and Dr. Jabavu. That was where the union began. But on this day, and with reference to Staff relationships, I want to pay tribute to the memory of the first Mrs. Kerr whose grave is on Sandile's Kop. If we were a family, she was our Mother. In those last years when I knew her, she was often ill, but she insisted on her welcome to the Staff at the beginning of an academic year. I can see her now, going around the company, drawing us out with her grace and charm and lively humour, setting the solitary firmly in the family of the Fort Hare staff. In her presence it seemed as if discord or disunion could not exist.

And now we come to this moving occasion.

I use 'moving' in the literal as well as the emotional sense. Some of us have already moved elsewhere—the Mokoenas, the Radebes, the Stuarts and others. It is perhaps significant that we think of them in that way—not as Mr. Mokoena or Professor Stuart—because in these happy relationships wife and children were as much involved as lecturer or professor.

Some have already gone. Some will soon be going. The old relationships are being broken geographically even though friendships remain.

And so this is an occasion of deep emotion as we look back on a past that has been extraordinarily satisfying, which, even while we were experiencing it, we knew to be good.

"Well it is gone at last (let me quote Browning)

Gone, and the good tears start, the praises that come too slow

For one is assured at first, one scarce can say that he feared

That he even gave it a thought, the gone thing was to go.

Never to be again! But many more of the kind As good, nay better perchance: is this your comfort to me?"

The Principal quoted Tennyson at the Reunion, but it was noticeable that he stopped short with

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new—"
He did not give the next line! But as I think of what will remain in the hearts and minds and spirits of those of us who are here now, I must go on with Browning, even though many declare he is too optimistic:—

"There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before.

The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound.. All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist

Not its semblance, but itself."

Professor Z. K. Matthews in a brief speeh on behalf of former students of the College intimated that though he had been offered reappointment by the Minister of Bantu Education he found it impossible to be part of the new Fort Hare. He represented the generations of students who had passed through the gates of Fort Hare—men and women who were deeply indebted to Fort Hare for endeavouring to teach them a broad South Africanism. Fort Hare for 40 years had worked under a happy association of staff and students of differing race, politics, culture and faith. Unless South Africa as a whole turned to work the same way, it would come to disaster.

Mr. J. M. Majola, President of the Students' Representative Council said:

Now, as we all know, the change has come, and what has been like a dream to many of us has come true. What has been one of the most controversial bills in Parliament has now become an Act of Parliament amidst vigorous and well-reasoned opposition not only from Fort Hare, but from the intellectual world as a whole. In spite of all the opposition the Bill has become a Parliament Act.

We are assembled in this hall this morning on a very solemn occasion. We are assembled here to mourn the tragic and very sudden end of the most happy and most prosperous era in the history of Fort Hare. We are assembled here to mourn the ruthless destruction of all that we have cherished as our precious possession as a free institution. Indeed, this is a very sad occasion.

This might sound a little exaggerated. It might sound too pessimistic and we might be blamed for painting the picture too dark. Such criticisms have already been levelled against us. We have from time to time heard from Government circles that we shall lose nothing and that the change over entails no destruction but that it pushes on to an era of happiness and prosperity. I doubt it.

The recent events have proved beyond doubt that the change over has nothing in store for us but unhappiness, retrogression and perhaps, unfortunately, some chaos. Our affiliation to Rhodes University from which both institutions have benefited so much has already been legally abolished.

Our very right to register here as students at this College has been forfeited by us. We have no more the right to register as students of Fort Hare, an institution that is our own, and the only institution in the country that caters for the non-White section of the population. I, as a Zulu, am expected to go to Ngoye, whether I like it or not. I have no right to register at Fort Hare. It is a privilege that the Government can withdraw at any time.

We have already lost men and women of integrity on the staff—we have already lost men and women of the highest calibre and men and women who have always shown the keenest interest in the welfare of every individual student. Does this mean that the new régime ushers in prosperity?

We have already said farewell to our wardens. As we all know, these have been pillars of this institution, people who have devoted all their time to the welfare of every student in this College and who have, apart from their religious duties, devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of the African people in this country.

We already know that we have to part with our Coloured and Indian friends. We have been a very happy community indeed and we have never experienced that alleged racial prejudice that we often hear of from Government circles. We have not experienced any racial conflict here. Even the African group itself is to be split up into small little groups, Ngoye, Turfloop, and so forth. Which means we are now parting as friends. I cannot go into any details of what we have gained from our associations as students from almost every section of the population in this country. That will take up too much time. But I must say that we have gained a lot from our associations.

It is only the Xhosas now who have the right to register

at Fort Hare as students. If I am not mistaken the Xhosas are very few in this College, which means that the numbers will be brought down in such a way that our hopeful dream that Fort Hare would soon attain full University Status will be very remote.

We have no reason to believe that we shall not lose the little that we still have. We have had the right to express our views openly and frankly without any intimidation from any staff member. We had the right to manage our own affairs with the minimum external control and that has given us very good experience, and a very good training for our future tasks. That very management of our own affairs without external control has been a very good thing to us. It has given us the feeling that our staff members had confidence in us and that they are prepared to give us liberty in the fullest possible way in our College life Now we fear for such liberties. We have had an S.R.C. that was perfectly autonomous, managing all the student affairs independently and we fear for our College traditions that we cherish so much.

We have been in contact with many other Universities in this country and from time to time we have sent delegations to various S.R.C. conferences and all this was done without interference from the authorities. We have been affiliated to NUSAS and we fear that this change might force us to sever our relations with NUSAS.

In conclusion I wish to stress the point that we have not lost hope. We fully know that the destiny of a nation is not in the hands of another, but in the hands of God. And it is God who knows our destiny.

It was on this soil where our forefathers surrendered to the invaders that paradoxically our liberty, our freedom and our pride as a nation will be restored by people prepared and trained on this very soil.

### Extra-Mural Aid in Post-War Conditions

I HAVE no clue to the reason that moved the Government of the Union to take the step of assenting to the founding of Fort Hare College, plumb in the middle of the catastrophe that was the first world war. Whatever it was, it took little account of the straits the organizers were bound to find themselves in when engaged in the task of building a staff. Even the years after the close of hostilities brought little relief, but gradually those who had volunteered for active service began to trickle back and a few recruits from overseas became available. Not many, however, in the positions where we most needed them. In 1919 advertisements both in South Africa and overseas for specialist teachers of Mathematics and Physical Science met with no response. Thus in 1921 we were dependent upon the kindly assistance of the neighbouring missionary institu-

tion of Lovedale. For science we were indebted to Messrs James Chalmers and Charles A. Pilson of the High School, the latter only recently demobilized from the Air Force. These gentlemen were hard pressed in their own work, but willingly gave time and made special arrangements to instruct our classes. This indeed meant that our students had to walk the mile or two across to Lovedale, consuming valuable time, but whether through the benefits of the exercise and fresh air, or the skill and devotion of their teachers, the work did not suffer. Those taking English and Mathematics did not need to travel, for Lovedale had but lately appointed a chaplain in the person of the Rev. H. B. Coventry, a fine preacher and scholar with a flair for writing who, though never on the permanent staff of Fort Hare, gave excellent service in English and Philosophy

classes during the years 1920-1925, one of the many clerical lecturers at the College who subsequently reached high office in the Church in their several denominations.

Those I have referred to above were all comparatively young and had come fairly fresh to the teaching of Bantu students. Not so the lecturer who came to our assistance in Mathematics. Dr. Alexander W. Roberts had been Head of the teacher-training or 'normal' department at Lovedale for many years, having been appointed from Scotland in 1883. After thirty-seven years in this position he was on the point of retiring when General Smuts nominated him one of the first members of the newly-established Native Affairs Commission. In the interval between retiring from teaching and taking up his two new appointments as Commissioner, and as one of the four nominated Senators specially selected for their knowledge of, and interest in, Native Affairs, Dr. Roberts climbed the hill to the new building at Fort Hare, the first portion of Stewart Hall, which though not yet formally opened, was in use, and stood out at that time, stark and plain, like a toy representation of Noah's Ark. Dr. Roberts was indeed a very remarkable and versatile person. I first heard of him at Moray House Training College, in Edinburgh, when the rector, Dr. Maurice Paterson, called the attention of his students to some popular articles on astronomy which were appearing in a Scottish magazine—Chambers', I think,--and commended them to us as the work of a former student. This reference was no more than a point of interest at the time and remained sunk below the threshhold of my consciousness until I came to Fort Hare ten years or so later, and saw the little hut in the Lovedale garden which housed the telescope used by Dr. Roberts for his astronomical observations. In the course of these studies he had necessarily pursued his mathematics by the very effective way of employing that skill in his science, and as he was not only a trained teacher, but might have, more justifiably than some, been described in popular speech as a 'born' teacher, his coaching of a handful of non-European students for "matric," or first-year degree, was child's play to him, but a great and inspiring experience for them. his youth he had attended Edinburgh University as well as the training College but had not stayed long enough to take a degree, but the University of the Cape of Good Hope, then the solitary degree-granting body in South Africa, had conferred on him, in recognition of his observations of binary stars in the Southern Hemisphere, the honorary degree of Doctor of Science. He was not only a scientist and a mathematician, but he had also a fine taste in literature, and could make an excellent speech, or preach a fine sermon, on occasion. His work in astronomy was carried on while he was doing a full day's teaching and supervision in the training College; his holidays he would spend at the Royal Observatory in Cape Town, and long

afterwards the Astronomer-Royal, the late Dr. Jackson, expressed to me the opinion that Roberts was the most distinguished amateur astronomer that South Africa had had. He was in correspondence with workers in the same field all over the world. He must have had an extraordinary constitution to stand up to the double call on him of day and night labour.

While he was a Senator and immersed in Native Affairs he became interested in Population studies with the object of countering the panic fears that continually beset some white people in a multi-racial environment. He was good enough, when living at home, often to lecture to the Fort Hare students, sometimes on such researches as above, but oftener on his watching of the skies. It mattered little for the enjoyment of the audience what his subject, for he had the art of popular yet scientific exposition in a high degree. It was a joy to watch him, even when an old man, before an assembly of Bantu students, with a blackboard behind him and a piece of chalk in his hand, moving between the edge of the platform and the easel. It was a sheer delight to himself to produce from his pocket the small telescope with which his first observations on variable stars had been made. On one occasion, while living in one of the Alice hotels, he brought down under his arm a large lozenge-shaped meat dish. This was a source of great curiosity until, at the appropriate moment in his lecture, it was exhibited to illustrate the shape of our galaxy! More than once he was heard to say that when he began observing, variable stars were considered to be an interesting side-line, suitable for amateurs to play around with, but before his active observing career came to an end, this study had become of cardinal importance in the discussion of cosmic theories which were then engaging the attention of the professional astronomers and philosophers.

There are other activities and interests of Dr. Roberts which should perhaps be recorded in other contexts. at Fort Hare counted ourselves fortunate, that even in its very early days, as now, the students were able to make contact with such extra-mural lecturers, many of whom came from beyond our country and continent, some with world-wide reputations. We were on the touring list of practically every commission on Native administration or on investigations into racial relations in Africa, but we were also fortunate in receiving addresses from talented professional men, employed in the neighbouring missionary institutions, or on visits to them. Such contacts were extremely valuable for the students in the days before broadcasting became the all-pervading source of world intelligence that it now is. ALEXANDER KERR.

All political news and comment in this issue are contributed and written to express the views of the South African Outlook by A. Kerr, Lovedale, C.P.

# The Ecumenical Movements in South Africa

By Rev. Dr. A. W. Blaxall, Secretary, Christian Council of South Africa.

BEFORE coming to my main subject it is necessary to say a little about the Ecumenical Movement in general. Like the word Apartheid, the term Ecumenical is capable of many interpretations. In some ways the two words emphasize opposite conceptions of human living. Apartheid; afsondelike of eiesoortige, ontwikkeling—whatever term is used, implies basically the perpetuation of divisions in human life which are based on physical characteristics. Ecumenical may be described with many words, all of which come to an underlying principle of UNITY in human life.

Just as the exponents of Apartheid have landed themselves in a veritable horner's nest of difficulties, so there is no easy path to the attainment of the true Ecumene.

May I start by telling you how vividly this came home to me during a recent visit to Europe. Not quite four months ago I was at a conference in the Greek city of Salonica, convened by the department of Studies in the World Council of Churches. Some 150 men and women were gathered together in an attempt to finalise some researches which have been going on in many countries for the last few years. Drawn from all five continents, wearing a variety of national costumes, and speaking many tongues in the rare intervals of recreation, these people pursued their task with a sense of unity of purpose which has to be experienced to be understood. As it seemed to mespiritual unity was attained; it was never questioned in dormitory, dining hall, lecture room or chapel: what was still a matter for struggle was the realization of all that unity means in terms of those things which go to make up the ebb and flow of human history.

From this conference I had to go on to the middle of Europe, a journey of 48 hours carrying one from south to north of the Southern Slav Republics known as Jugoslavia. This journey was particularly interesting to me because 44 years earlier, in the European spring of 1915, I made the first part of the journey from Salonica to Nish as a junior member of a British Relief Unit. We stayed through that year with the gallant Serbs until driven out across the mountains of Albania: then I went back and worked until 1919 in their refuge Camps.

Sitting, once again in the crowded 'Belgrade Express,' surrounded by people talking a language I had known so well more than 40 years ago; trying to sleep while the ever changing crowd stepped over one's feet and an occasional passenger tried to squeeze in to a seat beside one; then as the morning sun rose, looking out through the window on to the very building opposite Nish station, where we had opened up our first hospital for typhus

patients—all this stirred up within me a terrible sense of unity with a people whose sufferings and joys I had shared so long ago. Not all the changes of those intervening years, both for them and for me, could alter the fact that a few words of familiar conversation floating back on the tide of memory constituted a realization of unity which has to be experienced to be understood.

UNITY—the ONENESS of the human race is a great and wonderful mystery, the realisation of which is a characteristic of this present century, as Prof. Arnold Toynbe says in one of his essays. Christians maintain that the unity has always been there by virtue of our common heritage as children of God; that in Jesus the full significance of our sonship has been made manifest, and it is only as we experience HIM more and more deeply shall we know our one-ness with our fellow men.

No doubt this is true, but we must be very careful, and guard against over-simplification.

As it seems to me this fact of the fundamental unity of man, and the realization of that unity as the goal of human endeavour, is known in three main ways which can be briefly described as:—

1. The Scientific Way—science in various forms has always been a large part of human preoccupation: the search for exact knowledge. Possibly we are inclined to think of this generation as especially scientific because of the vast out-reach of knowledge, and the great increase of that knowledge in physical comforts and material prosperity. Scientists know that their search is universal, going beyond those things which still divide mankind: why, even an iron curtain cannot keep scientists from either side exchanging experience and result!

These good people are inclined to be a little aloof from the day to day affairs of what is called the average man. One day I was given a lift into Johannesburg by a man who is daily concerned with the application of scientific knowledge, and is much let and hindered by complications caused very largely by the multi-cultural nature of our South African life. He is a South African himself, what is called a 'thorough-going Afrikaner' reaching back to many generations born not far from Table Mountain. We got on to talking about South African policies, and I told him some of my overseas experiences. As we drove near to the Golden City he said "Well, I suppose it's all biological. The life-force which runs through the whole human race is stirring: one day we will find ourselves functioning as one body, until then....", he shrugged his shoulders and turned into a Parking Area.

2. Then there are the politically minded people, using the term in its widest sense.

These are they who live and move in the organic aspect of human society. Whether it be in the organization of industry (Labour), in cultural bodies, or in the narrower concept of political life-the human race is seen as an organism, closely inter-related. Unfortunately some are so absorbed with the healthy functioning of one part that they are inclined to forget what Paul wrote to the Corinthians "the body does not consist of one member but of many;" they are more disposed to the very thing Paul ridiculed: "If the foot should say, because I am not the hand I do not belong to the body, that would not make it any less part of the body." Absorption in smooth functioning is inclined to localise outlook, but I do believe that by and large the politicians of the world are moving towards unification. We are probably many generations away from World Government, but that is the direction towards which all wise social and political people should seek to turn the thoughts of those they govern, although God forfend it should involve a period of authoritarianism, such as Aldous Huxley describes in Brave New World Re-Visited.

3. Then we come to those who approach life as something as much spiritual as material, and I believe they constitute the majority of the human race: as somebody once said "Man is essentially a religious creature." These people above all others should realize their essential Unity, but alas! it is not always so—in fact I fear religious people are sometimes most re-actionary. Recently I was reading in an American review called *The Progressive* an article surveying the various sections of life, to see how far racial segregation is practised. The writer said "Eleven o'clock on a Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in the United States of America."

We might say the same in South Africa: when the traffic of the daily struggle to live dies down, and Sabbath rest settles on the land, there is probably more ethnic grouping in South Africa than at any other time.

The general conditions of life being what they are, I do not know that it is altogether surprising that the hour of Worship should be the time above all others when people are drawn together by common ties of language and traditions with which they have grown from their youth up. It is neither completely surprising, nor very disturbing: things being as they are, but—and here is the great factor, can it always be so? While the scientific, social and political forces of mankind are on the march towards unity can those who believe in one Lord and Father of all lag behind? Should they not rather be in the forefront of experience, demonstrating to those who still struggle the reality of the final goal. As an African delegate said in one of the final devotional periods at the first All-Africa Church

Conference in Nigeria—" here we have had a foretaste of that which one day all men must experience."

It is in the spirit of this conviction there has appeared in the Christian fellowship of the world what is known as the Ecumenical Movement. Since the beginning of this century, with roots going even further back, it has manifested itself many ways too numerous for me to mention in a short address.

I think it is safe to say that this Movement is a growing force in the story of the human race, although probably still very much in its early stages.

The very complication of the whole race accentuates the sharpness of the struggle towards unity, as it is manifested in every field of life. Those who approach the various questions with religious faith have really a great advantage, slow as many of them may be to realize it. They approach the consequences of material differentiations with an experience of spiritual unity: this experience being gained by the ever increasing activities of the Ecumenical Movement which are reaching out into every department of life.

In this great wave some individual Christians, and several of our organized Churches in South Africa are taking a part. The Christian Council of South Africa was a foundation member of the International Missionary Council: Eight South African Churches have joined the World Council of Churches: all our leading Churches belong to the Ecumenical movements into which their denomination fits—e.g. both the Dutch Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church in South Africa are members of the World Presbyterian Alliance; the several Lutheran Churches and Missions in our land have all joined the World Lutheran Federation and so on with Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Salvation Army, and others.

Valuable and important as it is that we have these links with the larger Ecumenical Fellowships, in itself it cannot be enough. Right here in our own land we must move closer together in the spirit of the Ecumenical Movement.

## Sursum Corda

Rev. Dr. J. Bruce Gardiner.
MY HAND

Neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand. John 10: 28.

AS one reads again familiar chapters of the Gospel story one is prompted at times to fancy oneself among the many who were wont to follow the Son of Man as He walked along the roads and through the fields of old Galilee, teaching and healing. One recognises the "common people" who "heard Him gladly." All their days they

had listened to their own teachers whom men held in esteem; but no words of other teachers touched the quick, or warmed the heart, like the words of Jesus of Nazareth.

Among his followers the majority were those who had been led in times of sickness and infirmity to seek the touch of his right Hand which He laid upon the sick that they might recover; and who had drawn from that touch healing and health. They wished to be within reach of that Hand, assured as they were that it was the instrument of divine power.

Among the followers of the Lord Jesus we recognise one who, in days to come was to write a notable book which, after many centuries is in all our hands, esteemed and loved as the "Gospel according to St. John." He notes and remembers all that he sees and hears. For instance, he hears with much surprise that ministers of Religion say of the Lord Jesus, "He hath a devil," which I take to mean: You people are very foolish, very rash to yield yourselves to this man. We cannot deny that you have received healing in a way which seems supernatural, but we would warn you that such supernatural power may be diabolical rather than divine. Just consider: the Hand in which you place such confidence is precisely like the hands of hundreds of working men. It is strong and pliant like

theirs; but do you think it reasonable, do you consider it devout, to claim for a workman's hands the power of God?

Meanwhile the Lord Jesus is seeing clearly that the days of his sojourn on earth are drawing to an end; and He is giving serious thought to the practical question:—How can I prepare my disciples to remain faithful and to carry on the work I have given them to do? The answer to this question occupies the central place in the fourth Gospel and contains some of the most moving, most beautiful words in the New Testament; words the most precious to devout readers. As an illustration take:— Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me... .. I will not leave you comfortless.

Then in a flash He takes them beyond the seen and temporal and, as if He too had remembered his strong right Hand, He uses the memorable words:— Neither shall any man pluck them out of my Hand. In these words He gives us what we may consider a definition of our salvation. For life and for death; in time and in eternity we are "safe" in his Hand. Moreover, this assurance from the Master's lips gives a new and vital significance to his further words:— Greater works than these shall ye do, because I go unto my Father. We cannot fail to get something of his power if we receive his words in faith and hope and love.

# Is there a Practical Alternative to Apartheid in Religion?

Ben J. Marais, M.A., Th.M., D.Phil.

With acknowledgment to Optima

(Continued)

At this point in our discussion it will be useful to stress the fact that, while separate churches for White and non-White believers constitute the generally accepted policy of the Dutch Reformed churches, there are sharp differences of opinion within this church, as to the theological basis of such a policy and to what degree separate churches must be strictly segregated churches, with no contact or a minimum of normal contact between the ordinary believers of the different racial groups. The debate on these matters continues and promises to continue for many years to come. The whole situation is in a state of flux, though almost everybody within the Dutch Reformed Church supports the present system of separate churches as constituting either a useful temporary arrangement or a permanent solution. The situation is extremely complicated however. There is no clear-cut or easy solution, as too many people seem to believe.

Many of us, for instance, who do not believe an iota of the *theology* of "racial segregation within the church of Jesus Christ," are, nevertheless, vividly aware of the historical situation in which we live. We always need to remind ourselves that man does not live in a vacuum: neither does the church. It is rooted in historical situations. To force chaos on whole groups of people by acting as if these situations did not exist is the worst kind of irresponsibility, and cannot be defended on any Christian grounds. Man does not exist in the abstract. We too readily argue about man as if he exists in the abstract, and take resolutions accordingly. Man is everywhere rooted in some historical situation, and cognizance of that situation is important in any Christian approach. Many Christians face this dilemma in the Dutch Reformed Church to-day. They realize that to accept segregation, even on a temporary basis, in a way perpetuates it. But they realize that any sudden break in this pattern would lead to chaos.

What exactly do the Dutch Reformed churches consider to be the solution of the race problem? It can be summed up in one word: segregation. This church has more than once formulated its conviction that separate development of the different racial groups is the most hopeful approach.

At a general and widely representative Church Conference held in Bloemfontein in 1950, it was almost unanimously decided to reaffirm a policy of segregation. Great stress was laid on what was called absolute territorial segregation between the White and Black racial groups. Africans had to be moved back to their own territories which should be enlarged so as, according to some, to become independent African states. In these African states or territories the African must be granted all the rights and privileges the White man enjoys in his own area. This could, of course, mean that the White man would have to do his own manual labour.

Only in this way, it was argued, could justice be done towards Blacks and Whites. In a mixed society tensions would become intolerable, and the Black man would never receive justice, as fear would make the White man unwilling to grant the Africans more than very limited rights. In a mixed society the White man must ultimately lose his "racial purity" and his way of life, and be swamped by the African masses.

Equal rights in a mixed South African society would mean suicide for the White group. As rights could not be withheld indefinitely, the Africans must be segregated—at whatever cost. This is still the general line of argument in Afrikaans church or political circles, though grave doubts are expressed among many discerning people as to the practical implementation of any such policy.

To achieve this territorial segregation would entail great sacrifices by the Whites.

The argument was not based on inferiority or superiority of one racial group, as was often done in the past. It was based on diversity and the conviction that every individual could best serve his own people in a society in which his own culture and background is formative or decisive.

I am not discussing the question whether this may not be mere wishful thinking, too far removed from the realities of the twentieth century. I am merely stating the general approach of the Dutch Reformed Church in these matters.

The African must have his own land, territory or state and his own church. Only against his own background and in his own area could he develop without losing the most positive elements of his own heritage (and become a "pseudo-European") and without endangering the heritage of the White group. Many may say, "This will prove to be nothing more than a pipe dream, which can never materialize amidst the hard realities of basic economic and industrial factors." In the meantime, however, let no one say that the Dutch Reformed Church is activated in all this by motives of oppression. I know from personal experience that thousands of Dutch Reformed Church members honestly and fervently believe that such a solution can be and will be worked out. Only time can tell if, or to what extent, separate development can be worked out in any just or

equitable way. And even if I should personally be convinced that a just apartheid can never be fully implemented and that so-called separate development can no more than temporarily relieve the present tensions, and may, within the forseeable future, greatly heighten these tensions, it would still not give me any justification to write off apartheid as if there were no positive elements in this approach or to brand it as a dishonourable humbug, or as a formula for merely keeping the Black man down. Thousands of convinced segregationists would object and, I think, rightly object. All exponents of apartheid are not idealistic or honest, but many are. If the differences in background, in standards and in numbers of the two main colour groups -White and Bantu-are taken into account, any one who knows South Africa can, at least, understand why honest people can believe that apartheid is the solution. As a matter of fact, no definite alternative to segregation has been suggested which seems acceptable to more than a small proportion of the present electorate. The difference between the two main political parties is a difference in degree only, though this may ultimately be very important.

The missionary record of the Dutch Reformed Church must give food for thought to any critic who wishes to explain the racial policy of this church exclusively in terms of antagonism or the oppression of the African.

The fact is that the Dutch Reformed Church has a proud missionary record. It has always been a missionary-minded church.

At present it has embarked on a three million pound programme to meet the need for literature for the developing Bantu readers. When seen in terms of the number of its members, this project in missions (if it is successfully carried through and the necessary funds are raised) will be unprecedented in Africa or anywhere on earth.

This is not a lone or isolated instance of this church's zeal for missions. Ever since the first decades of the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope missionary projects have been undertaken on an ever-increasing scale. It must be kept in mind that, unlike the missionary activities of other churches in Africa, which get most of their funds and personnel from overseas, the Dutch Reformed Church draws all its funds in material and personnel from the local Dutch Reformed community.

It is true that in the number of its adherents among Africans it is far outnumbered by the Methodists and other groups, but the above-mentioned factors must be taken into consideration.

What is even more important is the fact that the church, as far back as 70 years ago, started missions in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland and even Nigeria. Great work has been done and is still being done in these as well as other areas far beyond the borders of the Union of South Africa.